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African Odysseys: AFRICA, INDIA AND BEYOND IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD¹

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Between the second half of the first millennium and the twentieth century, up to eleven million Africans were trafficked to India as slaves.² Many free Africans also made the same journey. For some, the Indian subcontinent was not the only or final destination; their odysseys continued further to China and Japan. In the early modern world, India was the pivotal point for these onward journeys as it was impossible for ships from any point west of the subcontinent to pass by without trading, making repairs, replacing deceased crew, and victualing after crossing the Indian Ocean.

Although the presence of Africans was recorded in China as long ago as the seventh century,³ this paper will concentrate on the early sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. This is the period after Portuguese ships began to transport enslaved Africans eastwards via India as they expanded their trade routes into East Asia in the early sixteenth century, and before Japan closed its trade to most non-Asians in the 1630s and '40s.

1 Thanks to Lúcio De Sousa for his selfless donation of information, Cliff Pereira for his valuable insights and advice, and Jazmin Graves for her excellent reviews which improved the paper immensely.

2 Gordon 1989, page i.

3 Wyatt 2010.

1. (opposite) The Portuguese black ship from Goa and Macao which brought most Africans to Japan.

Africans in Asia at this time fulfilled a number of duties, including secretarial, domestic, military and maritime services. Some rose to high positions in their host countries, the most famous case being that of a man called Yasuke who became a close aide to the Japanese hegemon Oda Nobunaga in 1581/82.⁴

INDIAN ODYSSEYS

Most Africans traveled to East Asia in the wake of Portuguese maritime power,⁵ which requires us to look briefly at its development. The Portuguese started sailing down the west coast of Africa in an attempt to find resources and develop trade⁶ to strengthen the economy and also to find Prester John, a mythical Christian king, who the Europeans hoped would ally with them in the fight against Islam.⁷ In 1498 they eventually reached India, thus gaining direct access to oriental trade routes. Later on, the Portuguese also managed to carve out a position as a major player in Asian waters, firstly by taking Melaka in 1511 and then by founding Macau as a permanent settlement in 1557.⁸ The first Portuguese reached Japan in 1543 on a Chinese junk, when it was blown off course during a typhoon. This junk was probably owned by the pirate Wang Zhi.⁹ The Portuguese quickly realized the trade potential in the islands and the relative freedom of trading conditions compared with the very tightly regulated Chinese system. Soon, a huge annual trade between Macau and Kyushu was established, mainly in Chinese silk for Japanese silver, providing much needed bullion to maintain Portuguese inter-Asian trade and send vast profits back to Europe.¹⁰

Lack of development in poverty-stricken Portugal provided an eager stream of adventurers, mercenaries, idealists and fortune hunters who settled in coastal regions from Kongo to Malabar and Ayutthaya to Nagasaki. The African slaves and freedmen whom they took with them performed every conceivable task, allowing the Portuguese to live lives of relative wealth and ease and to defend their remote interests

4 Lockley 2017.

5 Seijas 2014.

6 Russell-Wood 1992.

7 Salvadore 2017.

8 Boxer 1948.

9 Chin 2013, page 67.

10 Hesselink 2016; Boxer 1948.

effectively.¹¹ The Dutch seafarer Linschoten noted that “these Abexiins (Africans) such as are free doe serve in al India for saylers and seafaring men with such marchents as saile from Goa to China, Japon, Bengala, Mallaca, Ormus and all the Oriental coast.”¹²

MOZAMBIKAN ODYSSEYS

To defend their new trade, the Portuguese established forts and occupied easily defensible points, such as the islands of Mozambique and Diu, as supply and trading posts. The local peoples of southeast Africa had a large appetite for foreign goods, and the Portuguese mainly exchanged Indian and European manufactured goods such as cloth and guns for African ivory and people.¹³ The people sold into slavery were primarily war captives or children whose families had sold them to avoid starvation. The Africans who accompanied the Portuguese were, therefore, often from the regions with maximum Portuguese contact, the area that now comprises Mozambique, Tanzania and Kenya.¹⁴ Some slaves, however, were brought from the deep interior in caravans which also transported ivory and gold for external markets; it was not only coastal peoples who were linked into the Indian Ocean trade world.¹⁵ The entire area had long traded in a similar fashion with Arabs and the wider Indian Ocean through coastal *entrepôts* such as Mombasa.¹⁶

Portuguese slaving from southeast Africa to India comprised around 200-250 people a year in the late sixteenth century; in later centuries it would increase exponentially when demand from other Europeans, particularly the French, increased.¹⁷ Between 1500 and 1850, the Portuguese transported around 40-80,000 of an estimated 5-600,000 African people enslaved by Europeans in the Indian Ocean.¹⁸

Shortly after taking Mozambique Island in 1507, the Portuguese conquered what would become their main Indian Ocean base at Goa in

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11 See for example Boxer 1948.

12 Linschoten 2005, page 266.

13 Newitt 1995.

14 Ibid.; Isichei 1997.

15 Isichei 1997.

16 Ibid.; Newitt 1995.

17 Allen 2014, pages 17-18.

18 Ibid.



1510. The city quickly became a center of trade, maritime, missionary and military activity: the jewel of the Portuguese Indies.¹⁹ Along with a majority Indian population, Goa had around 1,000 civilian and military Portuguese inhabitants and approximately tenfold the number of slaves, many of them originally from Africa.²⁰ Goa's lifeblood was trade in slaves, gold, silk, other fabrics and spices. Exports to Europe were paid for with the profits from the China-Japan silk trade, which was dominated by the Portuguese as the Chinese government had banned direct Chinese trade with Japan.²¹

Other forts and missionary stations were also established along the coasts of the Indian subcontinent, including at Cochin, Chaul, Mumbai, Salsette, Bassein, Damao, Diu and Madura.²² Africans sailed the ships, grew and cooked the food, handled trade matters, acted as commercial agents, hauled goods, built buildings, and served as bodyguards.²³

NORTHEAST AFRICAN ODYSSEYS

Northeast Africans from modern-day Ethiopia, Sudan, Eritrea and Somalia, brought to India by Arabs, Turks, Indians and Africans, also ended up with the Portuguese.²⁴ In the sixteenth century the Horn of

¹⁹ Borges 1994.

²⁰ Cardoso 2015, page 13.

²¹ Boxer 1948.

²² Borges 1994.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Caraman 1985.

Africa comprised Abyssinia, a Christian nation, Muslim states such as the Adal Sultanate and numerous animist peoples such as the Oromo.²⁵ The region suffered from perpetual conflict which fueled the slave trade,²⁶ both through providing prisoners of war to sell, and creating conditions in which selling a family member so that the others might survive became a common occurrence.

The main contributing factors to these conflicts were the introduction of firearms by Turks, Arabs and Europeans;²⁷ dynamic leadership by men such as Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi in the Adal Sultanate, leading to invigorated religious war with Christian Abyssinia;²⁸ and movements of peoples such as the Oromo from the interior of the continent towards the coast.²⁹ The vicious cycle of war was fed by demand for slaves in Africa, Anatolia, Persia, the Arabian Peninsula, India and Europe, the greed of local rulers, and religious dogma. Those people taken by or sold to Muslims by Abyssinians or Oromo were often exported overseas and most converted, either forcibly or voluntarily, to Islam during their servitude.³⁰

The captured unfortunates endured tough overland journeys through mountains, deserts and steppes, depending on their place of origin; the men were shackled but the women and children were generally allowed to walk unimpeded.³¹ Their destination was either an inland regional or coastal slave market, often the port of Zeila, now in northern Somalia, or Suakin in modern-day Sudan. There they were traded for salt, Indian cloth or iron bars.³² If they were not immediately put to work on ships or galleys, they were taken on Arab, Ottoman or Indian ships, normally unchained,³³ either north towards Egypt, Turkey and Europe or east towards Persia and India, stopping at ports such as Mocha, Basra or Muscat on the way.³⁴

25 Hassen 2015.

26 Ibid.; Gordon 1989.

27 Black, *Cambridge Illustrated Atlas*.

28 Adejumo, *The History of Ethiopia*, page 178.

29 Caraman 1985; Hassen 2015.

30 Pankhurst 2003; Gordon 1989, page 62.

31 Ali 2016.

32 Ibid.

33 Gordon 1989, page 201.

34 Ibid.; Ali 2016.

The captives, treated as trade commodities, might be sold at any time along the way in exchange for other trade goods in demand elsewhere. They might in fact stay for long periods in different ports under different masters before being sold for money or traded for goods, as the individual life story of Malik Ambar, who later became an important figure in the Deccan, shows.³⁵ Slave owners sometimes chose to invest in their slaves, educating or training them to gain more profit at the next stage of sale; many young boys who were castrated as eunuchs fetched the highest prices.³⁶ Slaves might also be taken directly to northern India and again sold on to traders going further south and east. By this point over 20% of the captives would have perished.³⁷

In India, northeast African captives, whom the Indians called *Habshis* or *Siddis*, generally found themselves in slave markets in northwest India, where they were once more sold and taken to places within Gujarat such as the Gulf of Cambay, and to Goa, the Deccan and Cochin, wherever trade routes and customers existed.³⁸ The buyers were predominantly local Indians,³⁹ but the Portuguese and other outsiders also made use of the readily available supply of slave labor.⁴⁰ Many *Habshis* are recorded as having been in Portuguese service. For example, 600 formed a defensive force in the constantly beleaguered Portuguese fort of Diu, and many others worked as sailors on Portuguese ships.⁴¹

EAST ASIAN ODYSSEYS

The Arab-dominated slave trade to China via India had reached as far east as southern China by the seventh century.⁴² That Africans continued to be present in China from this time onwards is suggested by sporadic reports over the centuries; for example, two African women were presented to the Chinese Emperor in the eighth century,⁴³ and

35 Ali 2016.

36 Gordon 1989, page 65.

37 Ibid. page 149.

38 Pankhurst 2003.

39 Gordon 1989.

40 Pankhurst 2003.

41 Ibid.

42 Wyatt 2010.

43 Gordon 1989, page 127.

by the tenth century, African slaves were relatively common in China's southern seaports where international trade was concentrated.⁴⁴

The Portuguese export of slaves from eastern Africa was still in its infancy in the period covered by this paper, and in the late sixteenth century numbered several hundred African people per year.⁴⁵ They were taken as far as Europe, the Spanish Philippines, Mexico, China and Japan, and normally took ship from Mozambique Island.⁴⁶ Those bound eastward started their exodus on ships sailing via Africa to India from Europe; these ships generally started in Lisbon and terminated their voyages in Cochin or Goa, stopping in Mozambique to make repairs and pick up African trade goods, including slaves.⁴⁷ The Africans either spent several years in India before traveling further, or re-embarked soon after arrival in India.⁴⁸ The ships which departed eastwards from India were often in fact constructed there. No ship traveled directly to East Asia from Portugal without stopping in India.⁴⁹ This fact establishes India as the central connection in journeys between Africa, China and Japan.

It is important to note that not all Africans traveling eastwards were enslaved. Free Africans also made the journey, such as the Abyssinian crewmen mentioned above and the Abyssinian mercenaries employed by the Siamese King against Burmese invaders in Ayutthaya (present day Thailand) in 1548.⁵⁰

Although it is impossible to quantify exact numbers of Africans who ended up in China and, later, Japan, these people were often skilled workers, bodyguards, sailors, clerical support and close body servants traveling not to be sold as slaves, but to accompany their employers or masters. Richard Cocks, an English trader who was based in Japan, mainly on the island of Hirado, from 1613–1623, mentions several who served local dignitaries.



44 Wyatt 2010.

45 Allen 2014.

46 De Sousa 2014.

47 Souza 1986 page 76; Seijas 2014.

48 Linschoten 2005; Lockley 2017.

49 Boxer 1948.

50 Pankhurst 2003, page 207.

3. African mercenaries and servants with Portuguese dignitary.

Some of the enslaved, or those employed in precarious work like sailing, tried to jump ship. Cocks reports numerous cases of escaped African slaves and mariners.⁵¹ These escapees often stole to feed themselves but sometimes found succor with local Japanese people and with European and Chinese residents.⁵² If they were caught by the Portuguese, they were generally executed.⁵³



To the Chinese and Japanese, the size and strength of some Africans was awe-inspiring;⁵⁴ for example, Japanese accounts of a man named Yasuke include the information that he was handsome, 188 centimeters tall and had the strength of ten men. Upon his employment by the warlord Oda Nobunaga he was given the handsome gift of 37.5 kilos of copper coins.⁵⁵

The Portuguese and other Europeans probably chose to travel with African attendants specifically to increase their standing with local rulers and the populations they governed, as well as to deter attack. The prices charged for African servants could be extortionate: one Spaniard in Japan, Miguell de Salines, is quoted as saying that “he would spend 4000 *taies*⁵⁶ but he would have [an African freedman called Antony].”⁵⁷ Although this price was an exaggeration, Cocks mentions fifty *reales*⁵⁸ for one African man⁵⁹ and it compares with five, six, or seven Roman *scudi*⁶⁰ for a man in Mozambique.⁶¹

51 Cocks 1883b, pages 129, 133, 199,

52 Cocks 1883b.

53 Cocks 1883b, pages 8, 9, 129, 133-135.

54 Lockley 2017.

55 Lockley 2017.

56 *Tael*, a unit of Chinese silver currency.

57 Cocks 1883a, page 334.

58 Spanish dollar, or better known as *piece of eight*.

59 Cocks 1883b, page 133.

60 *Scudo Romano*. The currency of the Papal States.

61 De Sousa 2014, page 239.

4. Possible rendering of Yasuke, detail of Rin School writing case. By kind permission of Paulo de Cunha donation, Fundação Abel e João de Lacerda, Museu do Caramulo.

CHINESE ODYSSEYS

The main Portuguese base in the Far East, Macau, enjoyed a strategic location at the mouth of the Pearl River Delta. Macau's wealth depended on its proximity to the primary port for Chinese foreign trade, Guangzhou, and the goods its merchants could obtain there.⁶² Although the Macanese traded with Mexico via the Philippines and Portugal via India, Macau also acted as an *entrepôt* for goods from the Spice Islands and Japan. Its primary trade was Chinese silk for Japanese silver, whose profits essentially funded the whole Portuguese Eastern Empire.⁶³

As elsewhere, slaves were essential to Portuguese activities in Macau, and a considerable number of these, perhaps around 5,000, were African males.⁶⁴ Aside from performing manual labor, Africans in Macau participated in festivals dedicated to them and performed in orchestras and dance troupes in which "they all appeared resplendent in scarlet and other delights."⁶⁵ They also performed for fascinated Chinese audiences as part of Jesuit missions into the Chinese interior, playing "fanfares on their trumpets and shawms."⁶⁶

One man, Antonio, a Portuguese-Cantonese interpreter, was described as a "Capher Eathiopian Abissen;"⁶⁷ his ability in the local language suggests that he had been in Southern China for some time. The Catholic priest, Domingo Navarette also reported Africans working with and for Chinese employers in Guangzhou, and believed them to have escaped slavery in Macau.⁶⁸

As in India, a team of African bodyguards was a fashionable accoutrement among the international elite of the East Asian seaways. Rich European merchants competed to have the grandest and most ostentatious entourage; one example was Bartolomeu Vaz Landeiro, who was involved in slaving, smuggling and occasional legal pursuits between India, Macau, Japan and Manila until his death sometime

62 Boxer 1948.

63 Souza 1986.

64 Boxer 1948, page 143.

65 Ibid. page 148, 149.

66 Cooper 1974, page 341.

67 Pankhurst 2003, page 216.

68 De Silva Jayasuriya 2008, page 35.

after 1585. He had a bodyguard of around eighty Africans armed with halberds and shields who had accompanied him from India, where buccaneering life began in the 1560s. In addition, his ships' crews were notably multicultural, employing Chinese, Japanese, Europeans, Filipinos and Indians as well as Africans.⁶⁹ What happened to his African bodyguards after his death is unfortunately not known.

There are also some records of Africans as members of Chinese and mixed-nationality pirate crews in East Asian seas.⁷⁰ Several Japanese warlords, including the Matsura of Hirado, hosted international pirates and, furthermore, employed Africans themselves as well.⁷¹ One Hirado-based Chinese pirate in the early seventeenth century was Zheng Zhilong, who had a large African bodyguard, numbering over 300 men at its height.⁷² It is thought that Zheng's guards were recruited from escaped Macau slaves. Some of them could have been men who were freed as a result of the Battle of Macau in 1622, when the city found itself virtually defenseless against Dutch invasion; African slaves, male and female, were promised their freedom to defend the colony. The heavily outnumbered and inebriated Africans crushed the Dutch and their Asian mercenaries in a series of ferocious, reputedly bloodthirsty, attacks;⁷³ several hundred slaves were manumitted on the battlefield. Many could have signed on with Zheng who traded extensively in Macau and was building his vast pirate fleet which numbered up to 1000 ships by the late 1620s.⁷⁴

Zheng's downfall came with the Manchu (Qing) conquest of Ming China, as he initially chose to fight for the incumbent government. In 1646 he defected, but was ultimately betrayed by the Manchus; they separated him from his Chinese troops, leaving him only his 300 African bodyguards. When they were attacked, they resisted briefly against what must have been overwhelming odds, but were overcome. Zheng was taken to Beijing as a hostage in an attempt to persuade his, still loyal, son to cease his resistance. His son, Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga in European sources) refused to surrender and Zheng the elder was publicly executed. The fate of the African soldiers is unknown.

69 De Sousa 2015.

70 See for example Cocks 1883a, page 82.

71 Ibid.

72 Chin 2014, pages 100-103.

73 Boxer 1948, pages 82-86.

74 Chin 2014.

JAPANESE ODYSSEYS

By the late sixteenth century, Africans were arriving in Japan frequently on Portuguese and Asian ships as merchants, pirates, sailors, domestic servants and slaves.⁷⁵ It is estimated that several hundred Africans resided in Japan at one time or another until the 1630s, employed not only by the Portuguese but also by other Europeans and the Japanese.⁷⁶ Given the high number of Africans crewing European and some Chinese ships, there must have been many hundreds more who visited temporarily. In contrast to the Chinese who were fascinated by, but looked down on, darker-skinned peoples,⁷⁷ the Japanese seem to have had no especially negative images of dark-skinned people during this period.⁷⁸ In fact, the English merchant Richard Cocks noted that the Buddha was sometimes portrayed as black,⁷⁹ and that remains the case today; in particular, the god *Daikokuten*, the Japanese equivalent of the Indian deity *Mahakala*, is often shown with absolutely black skin.

That Japanese people were fascinated by and hospitable to Africans is noted multiple times. The Portuguese merchant Jorge Alvarez noted that Japanese people would travel “15 leagues to see [black men] and would entertain them for three or four days”⁸⁰ and the Spaniard Sebastian Vizcaino considered offering public concerts when he saw how much excitement an African drummer among his attendants caused.⁸¹ The Imperial Regent Toyotomi Hideyoshi specifically asked Africans to entertain for him on at least two occasions in the 1590s. On the first occasion, a single man, a sailor on a Portuguese ship, attended court to dance and sing;⁸² on the second occasion, a group of African guards dressed in red and armed with golden spears danced “a wild dance of fife and drum.” They were gifted white robes for the performance.⁸³



75 Leupp 1995.

76 Russell 2009.

77 Wyatt 2010.

78 Leupp 1995; Russell 2009.

79 Massarella 1983.

80 Cooper 1965, page 66.

81 Ibid. page 71.

82 Cooper 1974, page 95.

83 Ibid. page 99.

5. *Daikokuten*.



The most intriguing example of an African man in Japan was Yasuke, who served the prominent warlord Oda Nobunaga in 1581 and 1582. Originally a servant of the Jesuit missionary Alessandro Valignano, Yasuke was raised to samurai status because of his Japanese language ability, size and strength. At first, Yasuke was probably seen by Nobunaga as a novelty, but due to his intelligence and skills, their relationship developed and he became a valued member of Nobunaga's inner team, perhaps even a lover. He joined his lord on two campaigns and was granted a stipend, ceremonial weapons, an official residence and attendants of his own.⁸⁴ Had Nobunaga lived, it was suggested that Yasuke might have been fully ennobled.⁸⁵

Yasuke's career caused so much interest that he was mentioned in some detail by multiple sources; his last documented appearance was in battle at Nobunaga's final stand in 1582. Having fought to the end, he escaped with his life but little else; he then fades from history.⁸⁶

Shortly after this, in 1584, an African "from Malabar" is mentioned by the Jesuit chronicler Luís Fróis as having successfully commanded two large cannons in battle for the Japanese Christian warlord, Arima Harunobu. Whether this was also Yasuke is a point that is debated to this day.⁸⁷

84 Lockley 2017.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

6. Folding screen showing Oda Nobunaga adjudicating sumo match with an African wrestler.

Another documented African was a seven-foot tall man called “Kurobou,” which simply meant “black man” in Japanese. He is also mentioned in relation to the Korean invasions and lived in Shikano, Inaba Province (modern-day Tottori Prefecture).⁸⁸ A further unnamed Mozambican slave is recorded in Mexico City, the friend of a Japanese slave called Tomé. This Mozambican had lived several years in Nagasaki before being sent to Manila and, subsequently, to Mexico.⁸⁹

Africans are also mentioned in the Nossa Senhora da Graça incident of 1610, in which Arima Harunobu attempted to seize a Portuguese ship in Nagasaki to avenge the killing of rioting Japanese sailors in Macau. In the ensuing battle, some African crewmen were killed, and when the ship’s magazine was ignited by the captain, an uncounted number perished.⁹⁰ Arima’s son, Naozumi, is also recorded as having employed an unnamed African retainer, whom the merchant Richard Cocks treated kindly on account of his master’s position.⁹¹ This envoy regularly traveled the 300 miles from Kyoto to Nagasaki via Hirado, showing that Africans were tasked with jobs of considerable importance and responsibility involving local populations and not only in dealings with other foreigners who were resident in Japan.

Cocks also writes of an African slave of Lord Matsura called Antonio, the same man whom the Spaniard Miguell de Salines wanted to buy, who was freed and subsequently employed by English traders. They anglicized his name to Antony and even bought him eight suits of clothes.⁹² Cocks later mentions receiving a letter from him in the Ryukyu Kingdom (modern-day Okinawa Prefecture, but at that time an independent kingdom); this to be the only record indicating a literate African in Japan at this time, although there must have been others.⁹³ Sadly, no further information is available and Antonio/Antony tantalizingly fades from history, leaving behind questions concerning his role, his rank, and the activities in which he was engaged. However, he was clearly trusted enough by the English to do important trade-related work in a country outside Japan.⁹⁴

88 Wagatsuma 1967.

89 De Sousa 2014, page 243.

90 Boxer 1948.

91 Cocks 1883a, page 80.

92 Cocks 1883a, pages 125, 138, 334.

93 Cocks 1883b, page 59.

94 Ibid.



Another former African slave, Ventura, renounced Catholicism and worked for the local magistrate, Suetsugu Heizo. Tasked with eradicating Catholicism, he searched for Christians and fugitive priests in Nagasaki between 1625 and 1632. By this time, Catholicism had been legally proscribed under pain of death and Ventura was much feared among the local population.⁹⁵

An additional resource for Japanese relationships with and attitude toward foreigners, including Africans, is available in artwork, particularly decorative folding screens created by the Kano School of artists for lords and rich merchants all over the country. Africans are generally portrayed as hardworking sailors, armed bodyguards, personal attendants, and domestics in the retinue of Portuguese dignitaries. They appear wearing smart doublets, shirts, collars, jackets and pantaloons but are often barefoot; some are armed with pole weapons or bows. Where Portuguese ships are portrayed, black faces seem to make up the majority of the crew; they can be seen scaling the rigging, manning the crow's nests and performing gravity-defying feats on the spars.⁹⁶ The artists clearly admired their African subjects.

CONCLUSION

Many of the Africans of Portuguese India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ultimately traveled beyond the subcontinent to China, Japan and other destinations. In the Far East, they performed a number of tasks, which included serving as sailors, bodyguards, envoys and domestics for Europeans and local people. Africans were much in demand by those who could afford to employ them, some being granted high rank, guarding or entertaining some of the most important people of the era. They fought in famous battles and often proved the reputation for strength and bravery for which they had been employed or been sought by buyers in the first place.

The history of Africans in the Far East, while not as extensive as that in other parts of the world, certainly deserves to be heard. This is not only because it reveals a new side of African endeavors which has rarely, if ever, been told before, but also because all Africans who reached the Far East, whether traveling independently or as slaves and servants of the

7. English or Dutchmen with African servants.

95 Perez 1914, pages 8, 16.

96 Screech 2017.

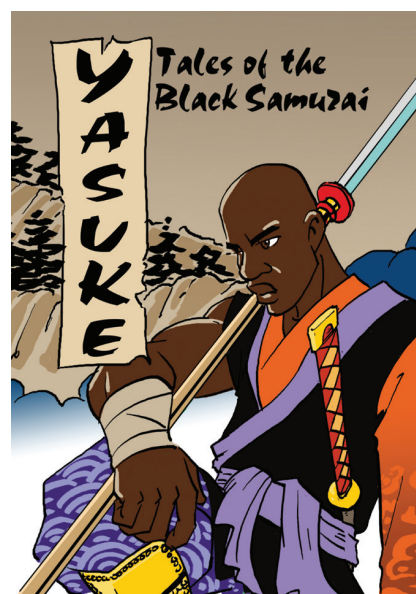


Arabs and Portuguese, had necessarily to pass via India. This extends the importance of the Africa-India connection, giving it a global significance which reaches far beyond the borders of the Indian Ocean to lands which are normally not associated with African diasporas.



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8. (top) Full Japanese folding screen showing the arrival of foreigners in Nagasaki. By kind permission of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
9. (right) A modern rendering of Yasuke, the African samurai. Courtesy of the manga artist Keville Bowen.

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